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each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 607

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

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Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distinguish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

3 Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different

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to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself.

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows.

[964] [527] [969]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas.

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When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other

[628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Minatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs of Minatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Minatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Minatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Minatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Minatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Minatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Minatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative who is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro, the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order -- to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the se

of the head of the extended Matsuda family. In the extended family reunions at this home, which is on the presumed original site of the first house, on New Years and on O-Bon, there are member families not only from Matsuda itself, but from villages in the Motobu peninsula, Nakagusuku, and the Nakijin areas. There are about 180 persons in the present extended family group of the Matsuda family, of whom about 80 attend the reunions. In these extended family reunions, the heads of the branch families who reside in other villages may send money--about 10Y--for charcoal sticks (senko in Japanese) and sake to be used in the observances. These meetings occur at New Years, on the birth of a child, at the celebration on the naming of a child, for the worship at the family tomb in the third month of the lunar year, and on O-Bon in the seventh month. Another practice in this family illustrates a variant in extended family customs. In the Matsuda family, the members of the main family, every seventh year, hold worship at the homes of branch families at Nakagusuku and Nakijin during the festival of the fifth lunar month. 614

The importance of the extended family, it would seem, varies somewhat with the families comprising the larger kinship group. While in the extended family, the ties are not so close as those of the immediate family, and even of friends and neighbors, these ties though sometimes tenuous are really a geographical network of relationships that provide the basis in fact for belonging and for being part of a wider community.

The force of this fact should not be underestimated. It is part of the personal security and of being a link in the chain that is so integral a characteristic of the family system. It is not unusual for a person to go to another village or to the larger towns and to have his relatives in the extended family receive him and take care of him for long or short periods. The head of the extended family and his custodianship of the family tomb, and his leadership in the reunions further cement these wider relationships. With some, it is true, extended family observances are perfunctory. A school teacher, for example, said that when his beliefs in religion and in the worship of ancestors were stronger, he visited the site of the main house quite often; now his visits were perhaps once or twice a year, and these were done as a matter of form. But still they were done, and the indirect effect, if not to deepen religious conviction, was to maintain personal ties with the wider kinship group. There is little doubt that the extended family reinforces and solidifies the family groups, especially when several branch families are located in the village of the seat of the main family, or with those, like the fishing community of Hinatogawa, whose family seat is in a common parent town. There does not seem, however, to be that strong sense of extended family loyalty that has been remarked upon so often in the traditional Chinese family system, especially among the gentry class. [574] [183]

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Individual Families and Their Branches

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Up to this point, we have been describing the extended families which are composed of the main and the branch families which have descended from a common ancestor. The discussion may now be carried one step further to describe the individual family and its branches.

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The individual family is the basic unit of village life. Normally this individual family is the biological family, composed of the parents and the children. But it is surprising how often family units or households are made up of relatives other than the biological family to create many varieties in family composition. The numerous deaths, as a result of the war, have added to this variety.

An attempt has been made in the following table to hint at the variation of family composition in the villages and to show this in further detail according to the number of individuals in a family. This table is a compromise, for with so many combinations, it cannot show the full detail without reproducing the composition of each family in each village.

In this analysis, family units have been broken down into three main groups: (1) those with single heads, usually but not always representing older people, (2) those with male heads, and (3) those with female heads.

The grouping of male heads has been further broken down into seven sub-groups: (1) the husband and wife, (2) the husband, wife, and child or children, (3) families with a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives, (4) families with a husband and wife, no children, but with other relatives, (5) the male head with children only, (6) the male head with children and other relatives, and (7) the male head with other relatives only.

Those family units having female heads were subdivided into three groups (1) the mother with a child or children, (2) the mother with child or children, plus other relatives, and (3) the female head with other relatives.

The general category of other relatives was necessary in order to present the materials in compact form. Other relatives most commonly are younger brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews, or nieces.

The table shows how widely the families vary from the normal biological family. In Hanashiro, only two of the ten units with two in the family are composed of a husband and a wife. Four have female heads with other relatives, meaning generally that women are taking care of

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

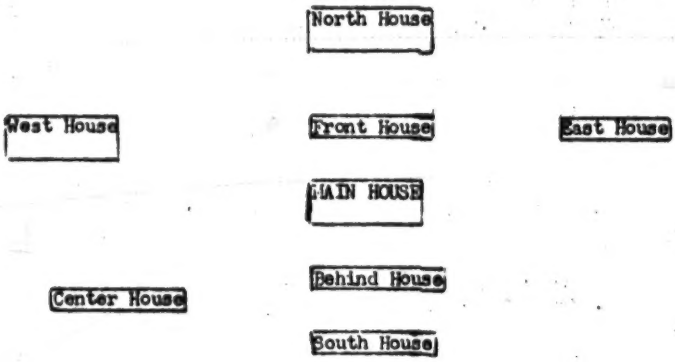
Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yaa in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 614 613 [193] The household order name given to any single family shows the place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family. Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Hinatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 613 592 621 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle. Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west: subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
592 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

592 The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
614 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
613 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added,
[193] as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

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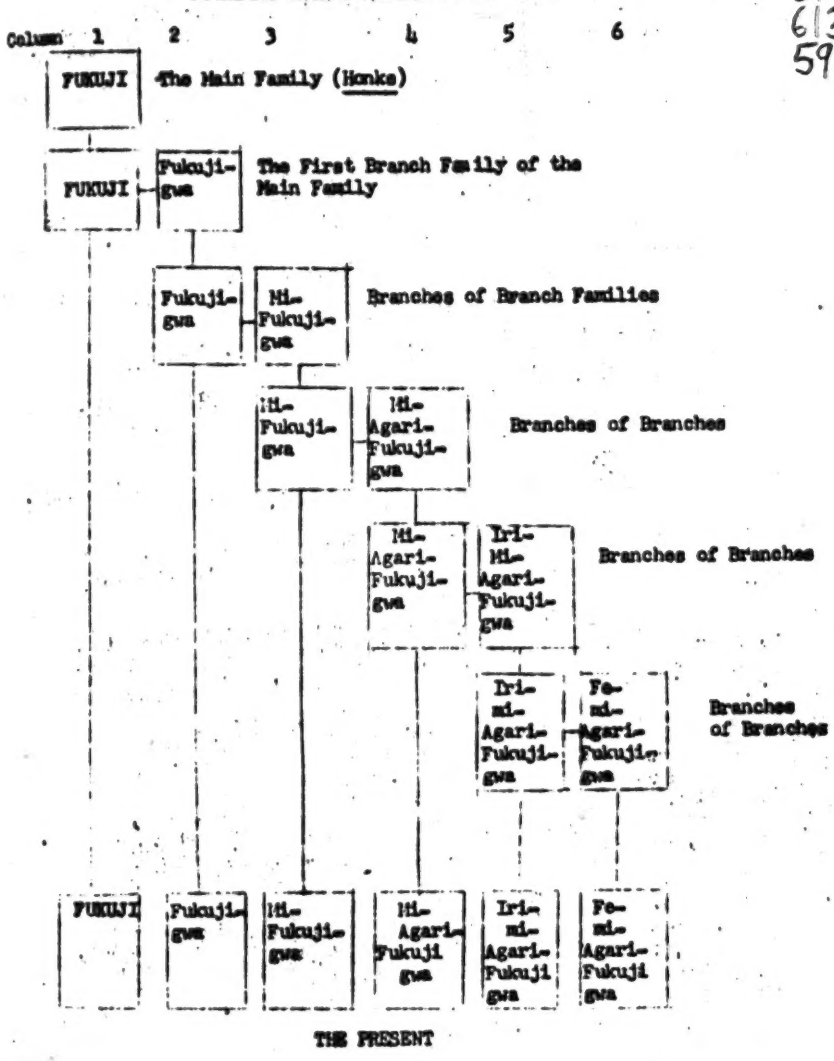
FOUNDING DATE SOMETIME IN THE PAST



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Minatogawa families:

1 Jinaniritamagusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagariakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kanashiro.

[193]

4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Guchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inaminegwa, Little Inamine. Actual surname, Inamine.

7 Sannantarunagaminegwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagamine. Actual full name, Nagamine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagamine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tembuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

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seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Minatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Minatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

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Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Minatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

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551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
619 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
613 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental
171 cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Matsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
521 Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
● [C14] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. C21 496 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. C21 496 [491]

The problems of Minatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [619]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kane-u-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlement. founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
198 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa,
613 Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
[345] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'samurai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji
[619] each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinae, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.) 551 [174]

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'kodeki'. [565] 177 [614]

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet". 551 177

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are 769 353 592 769 592 [613]

769 592 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the [562] tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the naka-mutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-mutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses). 614

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same surname. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had surnames; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks. 614 551 [171] [177]

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Hyō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An. [192] [177]

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the 613

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
• 614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[789] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[576] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 197

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

[Kochinda-son]

582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

• [614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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[1] Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 178 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[442] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The 175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center 565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of [423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden [546] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu- [361] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields. [621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally [613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for [614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con- [582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 423 175 423 [632] Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small segment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler, but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent